CHRISTIAN HUMANISM AND THE PURITAN SOCIAL ORDER

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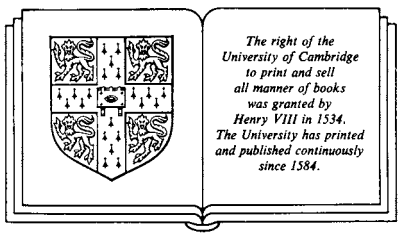

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Introduction: the demythologizing of puritanism

The historiographical problem of puritanism has now reached epic proportions. While some historians carry on the old debate about precisely what constellation of beliefs constitutes 'puritanism', others now question whether the concept exists at all.[1] While some go on to attach the puritan label even to bishops, others are able to talk about people traditionally regarded by everyone as puritans without even using the word.[2] The most extreme revisionists deny that either puritans or puritanism had anything to do with the conflict of the 1640s; others, however, have resurrected the notion of a Puritan Revolution.[3] While advocates of the latter view find elements of radicalism in puritan thought, others have shown puritans to have been upholders of the established order in church and state.[4]

[1] Recent contributors to the literature on definition include Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982); William Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English County* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Paul Christianson, 'Reformers and the Church of England under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts,' *JEH* 31 (1980), 463–82; Patrick Collinson, 'A Comment: Concerning the name Puritan', *JEH*, 31 (1980), 483–8; and Richard Greaves, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England* (Minneapolis, 1981). Among those denying any meaning to 'puritanism' is Michael Findlayson, *Historians, Puritanism, and the English Revolution: The Religious Factor in English Politics before and after the Interregnum* (Toronto, 1983).

[2] Lake, 'Matthew Hutton: A Puritan Bishop?', *History*, 64 (1979), 182–204; *cf.* C. M. Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford, 1983).

[3] Findlayson, ch. 3. *cf.* Hunt, *passim*; B. Reay, 'Radicalism and Religion in the English Revolution,' *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, ed. J. F. McGregor and B. Reay (Oxford, 1984), 1–21; John Morrill, *Cheshire 1630–1660* (Oxford, 1974), *Reactions to the English Civil War* (New York, 1983), Introduction, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War,' *TRHS*, 5th ser., 34 (1984), 155–78, esp. pp. 170ff, and 'Sir William Brereton and England's Wars of Religion,' *JBS* 24 (1985), 311–32; and Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London, 1981).

[4] Hunt, chs. 8–10; Reay, p. 2; and Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (1972), *Milton and the English Revolution* (1977), and *The Experience of Defeat* (1984). On the other side, see Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* (Oxford, 1982) and 'The Early Dissenting Tradition,' *Godly People* (1983), 526–62.

The debate during the past decade has been intense and sometimes bitter, and resolution of some of the most basic questions seems as illusory as ever.

Fortunately, however, the historiographic conflict has not been without positive results. It has managed to bring us closer to understanding who puritans were and how they acted. Even those historians who have ceased using the term still talk about the people who we have always thought were puritans and have taught us a good deal about them. As the polemical dust clears, it is becoming evident that some old and weakly-founded constructs have been quite properly demolished, and new interpretations based on manuscript evidence and the discoveries of local historians have been erected to good effect.

The biggest step forward has been the move to put puritans back into the protestant mainstream of Elizabethan and early Stuart England.[5] Puritans are increasingly being depicted not as an alienated opposition group but as part of the established order, functioning as magistrates and ministers to establish the protestantism of which they were the best representatives. Far from being a seething revolutionary substratum of the Church of England, they comprised a sort of 'moral majority' within it, the 'sharp cutting edge of an evangelical Protestantism.'[6] Of course, whether puritans were sufficiently entrenched within mainline protestantism to render meaningless their distinctively 'puritan' identity is at least questionable. The fact that historians who repudiate 'puritan' wind up substituting for it terms like 'advanced protestant' and 'precisionist' and 'evangelical' is suggestive, and as Peter Lake has been at pains to show us, the 'godly', however moderate, certainly recognized each other in the midst of the 'mere Prayer Book protestants' who comprised the bulk of their church.[7] But setting aside for the moment the question of taxonomy, the least that can be said about accomplishments thus far is that Elizabethan and Jacobean puritanism is no

[5] The achievement especially of Collinson in *The Religion of Protestants* and 'Early Dissenting Tradition.' See also Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon* (Toronto, 1978).

[6] Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, esp. ch. 4, 'A Comment' (the oft-quoted 'moral majority' appears on p. 485), and 'Early Dissenting Tradition,' pp. 534–5, on the 'widespread social entrenchment of puritanism in Jacobean England'; Lake, 'Puritan Identities,' *JEH* 35 (1984), 112–23, p. 113; Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon, passim*; Morrill, 'Religious Context', p. 162.

[7] Dent uses 'advanced protestant,' 'radical' and 'reformer'; Morrill, *Reactions*, Introduction (p. 15) uses 'advanced Protestants (or Puritan, if you will)'; Mary Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Wurtemberg and Prussia* (Cambridge, 1983), uses 'precisionist,' although she retains 'puritan' as well; Lake's *Moderate Puritans* leans toward 'evangelical.'

longer welded immovably to revolutionary opposition to the establishment, and this recognition has been an undeniable boon to the study of puritans. It has broadened our perspective on and therefore our understanding of puritans by drawing our attention to the likes of Chaderton and Hutton, along with Field and Perkins, to episcopally-approved lectures by combination, along with covert classes, and to the cooperation of bishops and godly magistrates in the enforcement of sabbatarianism and the reformation of manners.[8] Puritans have been removed from their historiographic box and examined within the context of the church and political order of which they were in fact very much a part.

The problem with all of this, of course, is that in 1642 these bastions of order took up arms against their king; in 1645 the godly representatives of the people tried and executed the Archbishop of Canterbury; and in 1649 these bulwarks of magistracy and ministry launched an experiment in republicanism and congregationalism. The consensus that Patrick Collinson has described for the Jacobean period broke down in the next reign, and until it becomes clear how the conservative, godly magistrates and ministers of Stuart England managed so radically to re-channel English politics and society in the 1640s, historians are not rid of the puritan problem.

One area generally neglected by recent studies, an area potentially crucial to understanding what happened in the 1640s, is that of puritan social and political thought. The focus of late has been more on activities than on ideas,[9] perhaps in unconscious compensation for the frequently misguided treatment of puritans by intellectual historians and political scientists in the 1960s and 1970s. We now know more than ever about what puritans did, as urban magistrates and churchwardens and clergymen and gentlemen, but the theoretical underpinning for their actions has received scant attention of late. There has been virtually no systematic re-evaluation of the origins and nature of puritan social thought and its political ramifications. To the extent that studies focused on puritanism and society have been produced, their conclusions seem to have very little to do with the new, broader view of puritans as part of the mainstream; they simply repeat old orthodoxies. Students who wish to examine puritan social thought are left with the interpretations of the old

[8] Lake, *Moderate Puritans*; Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, chs. 3 and 4, and *Godly People*; Kenneth Parker, 'Thomas Rogers and the English Sabbath: The Case for a Reappraisal,' *CH*, 53 (1984), 332–47.

[9] The exception of theological studies should be noted: R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford, 1979); Dewey Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525–1695* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1982).

masters, complete with misconceptions. Among the gravest of these is the old myth that there was a distinctly puritan social theory, a new view of social order peculiar to the hotter sort of protestants. The myth has puritans as intellectual innovators – genuine creators, breathing their spiritual zeal on theological dust, as it were, to bring into being an original body of social thought that distinguished them from their contemporaries, both protestant and Catholic. In the context of the broad religious consensus that has been demonstrated for Elizabethan and Jacobean England, this account looks odd indeed, but it remains the going version for students of social theory and continues to shape accounts of the Civil War. Clearly, some review and re-evaluation is in order.

The historiography of puritan social thought from Weber and Tawney to Hill and Walzer has attributed to protestant religious zealots a degree of originality of thought rarely assigned to and almost never deserved by any intellectual movement.[10] While puritan intentions have been disputed and the precise nature of their social ethic variously interpreted, there is agreement among these historians that the social order to which puritans aspired represented a drastic and distinctively protestant break with the immediate past. Where intellectual debts are acknowledged, they are credited to continental Calvinist theology and to the Bible. But even where the puritan outlook has been broadened into the Protestant Mind, there is no suggestion that the social theorists of Elizabethan and early Stuart England built on any but thoroughly Reformed foundations.[11] Students are thus presented with a view of puritanism which, given modern veneration for creativity and innovative thinking, amounts to little less than secular hagiography.

Christopher Hill, of course, is master of them all. His voluminous and erudite output has given us a view of zealous Elizabethan and early Stuart Calvinists as the generators of a progressive and ultimately revolutionary theory of social order. Hill and his followers have puritan social thought rising phoenix-like from the ashes of medieval social and intellectual stagnation to ignite the Civil

[10] Max Weber, 'Die protestantische ethik und der geist des kapitalismus,' in *Gesammelte aufsätze zur religionssoziologie* (Tubingen, 1922); R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, 1926); William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1938); *cf.* Charles H. George, 'Social Interpretation of English Puritanism,' *JMH*, 25 (1953), 327–42; Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1965), *Puritanism and Revolution* (1958), *Society and Puritanism* (New York, 1964); Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints* (New York, 1972).

[11] Charles H. and Katherine George, *The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation* (Princeton, 1961).

War and usher in a new, bourgeois social system in seventeenth-century England. Stressing the peculiar appeal of the Calvinist ethic to the 'industrious sort', Hill portrays a rising bourgeoisie of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England seizing upon such Calvinist precepts as the priesthood of believers, the evident election of the godly and the eventual triumph of the saints as an ideological means of transforming the medieval social stasis which they had inherited into a progressive, sober, hard-working, definitely middle-class order. According to Hill, 'Men's ideas were blurred in the sixteenth century, traditional attitudes outliving the social environment which had given them birth.' It was puritans who took up the challenge of stagnant values in a changing society and, on the basis of purely protestant assumptions, produced 'a new pattern of social discipline.'[12] To the protestant Reformation generally, and to puritanism in particular, Hill attributes an incredibly broad spectrum of social and intellectual creativity. From the Elizabethan poor laws to the Scientific Revolution to the Civil War, change in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England is traced to the 'hotter sort' of protestants.[13]

Among the most significant changes thus inaugurated, Hill identifies the phenomenon which he calls the spiritualization of the household. Puritans are seen as the creators of an exalted notion of the family as the fundamental spiritual unit of society. The family as a 'little commonwealth' is set against traditional forms of order and relationship; as a 'little church', it challenges the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The concomitants of the doctrine – an exaltation of the marriage relationship, a demand for household religious education and discipline, and a slight but noteworthy elevation of the position of women within the household – are clearly attributed to protestant theology in the hands of zealous English practitioners. Nor is Hill alone in his assertion that it was puritanism which gave rise to this phenomenon: while his is the clearest and most extensive treatment of it, he has both predecessors and followers.[14] Rarely is it suggested that puritans might

[12] Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution*, pp. 222–3; *Society and Puritanism, passim.*

[13] On the Scientific Revolution, *Intellectual Origins*, pp. 22, 34–61, and 'Puritanism, capitalism and the scientific revolution,' in *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (1974), pp. 243–53; *cf.* Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626–1660* (New York, 1975).

[14] Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, pp. 443–81; Chilton Powell, *English Domestic Relations, 1487–1653* (New York, 1917), pp. 129, 147 *et passim*; Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 201–27; Levin L. Schücking, *The Puritan Family* (tr. B. Battershaw, New York, 1970), *passim*; Keith Thomas, 'Women and the Civil War Sects', *P&P*, 13 (1958), 42–62; Walzer, pp. 183–98; and most recently, Greaves, *Society and Religion*, ch. 7 and pp. 737–67.

have gone beyond the Bible or their Reformed heritage for their ideas.

Hill and others have similarly traced to the Calvinist doctrine of calling the insistence of puritans on the obliteration of idleness and of the indiscriminate charity which fostered it as the solution to the problem of poverty. Hill finds 'the very closest connection between the protestant ideology of hard work and the economic needs of English society.' Puritans, as 'a class for whom the accumulation of capital had become an absolute good in itself', accordingly preached a morality in which 'humanitarianism was irrelevant.' Alms were to be carefully administered to train and employ the poor and set 'lusty beggars' on forced work; only thus would the godly prosper and the commonwealth be reformed.[15] Other historians have quarreled with this interpretation of the puritan attitude toward wealth and property, and local historians have unearthed many examples of puritan charity. At least one study has suggested that whatever puritan conceptions were, they were shared by Anglicans, but an historiographical consensus exists on the *protestant* generation of these ideas.[16]

In parallel fashion, Michael Walzer has attributed to puritanism the beginnings of the end of the Great Chain of Being, that medieval doctrine of the cosmos as a natural, static hierarchy of orders and degrees. The arbitrary God of the Calvinists, we are told, establishes his own omnipotence by leveling the cosmos and destroying the intermediary powers of angels, saints, bishops, and kings. Degree in the kingdom of the elect now depends on behavior, rather than on being, and order in the commonwealth is to be achieved not by enforcing obedience to constituted hierarchical authority, but by informing and disciplining the individual conscience.[17]

[15] Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, pp. 276, 287, 292; *Puritanism and Revolution*, pp. 215–38; *The World Turned Upside-Down* (New York, 1972), pp. 32–3.

[16] V. Kiernan, 'Puritans and the Poor,' *P&P*, 3 (1953), 45–53 (*cf.* Hill's response, pp. 53–4); Timothy H. Breen, 'The Non-Existent Controversy: Puritan and Anglican Attitudes on Work and Wealth, 1600–1640,' *CH*, 35 (1966), 273–87; W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480–1660* (New York, 1959), pp. 151ff. George, *Protestant Mind*, p. 155, sees the protestant view of charity as the assertion of brotherhood. Greaves contrasts Anglican suspicion of wealth with puritan receptivity of 'the idea that prosperity could be a reward of godliness' (p. 751), although he notes Anglican and puritan similarity on many aspects of poor relief (e.g. pp. 572, 575). William Hunt provides abundant examples of puritan charity in Essex; however, he is not interested in the generation of the puritan ideology of poor relief (chs. 6 and 10). Paul Slack does note briefly in 'Poverty and Social Regulation in Elizabethan England,' *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Athens, Georgia, 1985), 221–37, p. 236, that Elizabethan governors were 'anxious to prove their humanist credentials with a little social engineering in the interests of the commonwealth,' but on the same page he remarks that the 'new ideological input in Elizabeth's reign . . . came from Protestant religious enthusiasm.'

[17] Walzer, *passim*; cf. Hill, *Intellectual Origins*, pp. 293–4; Hunt, p. 250, says of the Warwick/Barrington circle in the 1630s, 'their puritanism provided them with a

The radical implications of these and other elements of puritan social thought are readily apparent, and however staid and conservative the moderate puritans of recent accounts appear, the evidence produced by the authors of the old orthodoxy, and the evidence of the war itself, demand that we take another look. Furthermore, suggestions of puritan radicalism are not confined to a past generation of historians. Not only has Hill's own productivity not waned in retirement – the revivers of the 'Puritan Revolution' will not let the question rest. Hunt's Essex puritans were certainly in opposition to Crown and Canterbury by the mid-1620s, and it does not seem farfetched to identify them with 'the aggressive, reformative, and hence socially disruptive aspects of zealous Protestantism' which he finds in Essex and defines as 'puritanism'.[18] The fact that Collinson devotes a substantial portion of his account of the religion of protestants to an attack on Walzer illustrates at least that the question is still a live one.[19] Was there a radicalism inherent in puritan thought all along, deeply dormant perhaps in the pacific generations before Charles and Laud, but ready to surface in times of stress? A look beyond Collinson's terminal date, 1625, suggests that this idea may not be devoid of merit. If it is correct, was this element, as Walzer, Hill, and others assume, the intellectual offspring of Calvinistic protestantism? Was social reformism a puritan distinctive? Puritan advocacy of the 'culture of discipline' is undeniable, and even conceding the cooperation of some bishops with the godly in reforming community manners seems still to connect Calvinist protestantism with the genesis of reformist ideology.

The time has come to ask whether the body of social thought which we associate with advanced English protestants could have sprung fully formed from purely Calvinist heads. To grant that puritans were concerned with social ethics is one thing; to transmute their concern into the creation of a new ethical system is quite another. To the extent that historians have described and provided evidence for puritan social theory as activist, progressive, practical and reformist in its methods and aims, they have made a positive

perfectly adequate ideology of social reform: they labored to institute the culture of discipline.'

[18] Hunt, pp. 146, 195–6.

[19] *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 150–88. In 'The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion,' in *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, pp. 169–94, Collinson describes the Elizabethan chapter of the English Reformation as tending toward 'a Protestant nation containing deep tension and potential confusion with an outward shell of consensus' (p. 176). He simply argues that the tension was not clearly manifest in the period before 1625, the terminal point of *The Religion of Protestants*. But its rapid development from the mid-1620s and its explosion in the 1640s surely demands further exploration of the intellectual genesis of the undeniable puritan radicalism of the Civil War and Interregnum.

contribution to our understanding of puritanism. To the extent that some have failed to recognize the appeal of puritanism to its numerous well-born patrons and identified it with a hypothetical middle class, they have been guilty of anachronism and distortion, but have stimulated useful discussion. But to the extent that they have ignored the ubiquity of reformism in sixteenth-century England, and indeed Europe, and failed to consider puritans as only one component, if a vocal one, of an important tradition of social activism and progressivism which had existed among Catholics as well as protestants since the beginning of the century, they have committed a serious error of omission.[20] They have wrenched puritans not only from the social, political, and ecclesiological mainstream, but from their intellectual moorings as well.

Historians of puritan ideas, even to the present day, have been like intellectual historians and literary scholars of an earlier generation: they have clung tenaciously to a 'great tradition', seeking to establish a single and direct channel of influence on puritan thought. Yet the best recent work in the field of intellectual history has demonstrated tellingly the complexity of the intellectual context in which a writer and thinker operates, and the foolishness of attempting to understand the intricate web of his thought by trying to unravel a single strand. The methodological object lessons provided by J. G. A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner[21] in the history of political theory have been too little appreciated by other scholars, and among the consequences are the monolithic appearance of puritanism and the inflated claims made for protestantism in the historiography of early modern ideas. Applying contextualism to detailed case studies in the history of political thought has borne out the contentions of Pocock and Skinner that only thus does the intellectual historian begin to do justice to his sources. Applying this methodology to puritan social thought will begin the long-overdue shifting of the historiography of puritan ideas onto the path which has been so well laid by modern intellectual historians and in the process reveal

[20] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), notes that throughout western Europe, in Catholic as well as protestant countries, traditional popular culture was under pressure from the influence of a 'major shift in religious mentality' in the period 1500–1800 (p. 212).

[21] J. G. A. Pocock, 'Working on Ideas in Time,' *The Historian's Workshop*, ed. L. P. Curtis (New York, 1970); *Politics, Language, and Time* (1972); and *The Machiavellian Moment* (Princeton, 1975). Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,' *History and Theory*, 8 (1969), 3–53; 'Motives, Intentions, and the Interpretation of Texts,' *New Literary History*, 3 (1971), 393–408; 'Some Problems in the Analysis of Political Thought and Action', *Political Theory*, 2 (1974), 277–303, 283ff; and *Foundations of modern political thought*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1978).

puritans as people of their own times, rather than as the mythical creatures of modern academics.[22] It will also offer a parallel in intellectual history to recent developments in the ecclesiastical, social, and political history of puritans.

It is imperative that we begin to adopt this more historical approach to puritan social thought, to examine puritanism within the context of broader, European intellectual developments in the early modern period. We must cease being unduly influenced by categories of analysis which we have invented for our own convenience and begin to take the wider view. Having said that, of course, brings us back to the question of how to define what some now call an inconvenient historians' invention, 'puritan'. However tiresome the debate, it is necessary at the start to have a clear understanding of whose ideas we are seeking to identify and examine in this study of social thought. And however skewed the old categories, the evidence will not allow us to dispense altogether with the term 'puritan' even if it is regarded as nothing more than 'an admirable refuge from clarity of thought.'[23] The people who called themselves the 'godly', 'professors', and even 'saints', and were called 'puritans' by their foes, were a sufficiently self-conscious and popularly identifiable group in their own day to deserve a name, and the traditional 'puritan' seems as good as any. The historian who talks about the likes of Laurence Humphrey and John Rainolds as 'advanced protestants' need not disturb us.[24] We know what he means by the term because we know of whom he speaks: a puritan by any other name is still a puritan. And in the midst of semantic confusion, historians reveal a remarkable convergence in their identification of particular individuals as puritans (or advanced protestants). Historians who quibble over definitions in theory have less trouble than might be expected when confronted with the need for flexible, working categories to apply to particular historical situations. If we allow room for the theological controversies of the 1620s and 1630s and the ecclesiological confusion of the Civil War and Interregnum in our definition, it is really not so

[22] Locating English protestant thought within the mainstream of early modern intellectual development also necessitates a repudiation of the geographically insular approach of many earlier historians: English protestants were part of a larger, European intellectual community, one that extended beyond the Geneva–London axis. The myth of the isolated, self-sufficient Englishman is just as misleading as the myth of Calvinist innovation in social theory. To find the sole continental influence on puritanism in the Geneva Bible and the *Institutes* is to look at history through peculiarly English spectacles.

[23] Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, p. 13. This statement is followed by 500 pages of analysis of 'puritan' social theory. [24] Dent, *Protestant Reformers, passim.*

difficult to group together Rainolds, Cartwright, Perkins, Preston and Cromwell, while excluding Brownists, Barrowists and Laudian bishops from a useful and comprehensible category.

Basil Hall arrived nearly two decades ago at a limited but not inflexible definition of puritanism which more nearly conforms to modern historiographic practice than did earlier attempts.[25] A version of his definition, modified in light of recent work on 'moderate puritanism', has guided the work at hand. Hall, drawing extensively from contemporary use of the term, acknowledged that theological distinctions within English protestantism – Calvinism and Arminianism – only emerged in the 1620s.[26] Accordingly, his definition applies to the entire period from 1564 to 1640 by not making predestinarian theology a defining characteristic: he labels as puritan all those 'restlessly critical and occasionally rebellious members of the Church of England who desired some modifications in church government and worship, but not . . . those who deliberately removed themselves from that Church.' His puritans 'ranged from the tolerably conformable to the downright obstreperous, and to those who sought to

[25] Hall, 'Puritanism: The Problem of Definition,' *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1965), 283–96. Earlier contributors to the debate made 'puritan' practically synonymous with 'presbyterian.' A. S. P. Woodhouse identified Perry Miller and W. K. Jordan in this group and then went to the opposite extreme, encompassing by the term presbyterians, independents, separatists, baptists, radical millenarians and ranters: *Puritanism and Liberty* (1938), p. 36. William Haller, in his *Rise of Puritanism*, pp. 82–5, adopted Woodhouse's definition with the added proviso of predestinarian theology. Charles and Katherine George, focusing on that proviso and noting the shared Calvinism of non-conformists and pre-Laudian Anglicans, were the first to deny the term 'puritan' any meaning at all before the Civil War; *Protestant Mind*, pp. 6–8, 399–407, and 'Social Interpretations,' pp. 327–42. In the same year that Hall's essay was published, Christopher Hill offered a similar definition of puritans as 'radical Protestants who wanted to reform the Church but (before 1640 at least) did not want to separate from it,' but he somehow managed to identify all such people with the 'industrious sort' who in his view composed an expanding bourgeoisie in early modern England: *Intellectual Origins*, p. 26, and *Society and Puritanism*, pp. 13–29, 124–44.

[26] Nicholas Tyacke has traced the emergence of Arminianism in 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution,' in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (London, 1973), pp. 119–43; and 'Arminianism in England, in Religion and Politics, 1604–1640' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1968). He defines puritanism in terms of presbyterianism or nonconformity, but after the rise of anti-predestinarian theology in the 1620s he adds the theological criterion of doctrinal Calvinism, by that time a point of contention between dissenting and some conformist clergy. Whether that contention was actually between Calvinism and Arminianism or whether it was in fact simply a dispute about varieties of doctrinal Calvinism within the context of diplomatic and political troubles during the 1620s is duscussed by Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered,' *P&P*, 101 (1983), 34–54. The contention clearly existed, however, and even if we were to accept White's thesis that the rise of Arminianism was mythical, puritans did see themselves as defenders of predestinarian orthodoxy in the face of Anglican indifference, if not heterodoxy.

presbyterianise that Church from within.' Separatists are excluded from the definition on the basis of contemporary opinion.[27] Indeed, membership in the Church of England as part of the definition of puritan seems to imply for Hall, as it did for contemporaries, that the puritan attitude toward and approach to reforming the church were qualitatively different from those of separatists. The latter were not, strictly speaking, reformists at all; rejecting the established church as a hopeless case, they opted to seek the true church elsewhere.

The breadth of Hall's definition allows inclusion of the category 'moderate puritanism' illumined by the work of Peter Lake. Lake defines puritanism as 'committed evangelical protestantism' facing a 'tension between protestant principle and the brute facts of the partially reformed nature of the English church' and characterized by 'an intense vision of the reality and mutuality of the community of the godly and of the way in which that community could and should be called together through the word, particularly the word preached.'[28] While this definition includes the whole of Hall's range from the conformable to the obstreperous, Lake focuses on the hitherto neglected conformable, those moderate puritans who can be found in Elizabethan Cambridge in the circle of Laurence Chaderton, and in early Stuart Cambridge in that of Samuel Ward. Moderate puritans did not refuse to conform, but they bowed to the demands of the hierarchy under protest, and only when failure to conform would jeopardize their preaching ministry.[29] And they continued their campaign for the simplification of ceremonies and their denunciation of the hierarchy's insistence on conformity at the expense of a sufficient preaching ministry. It is clear from Collinson's look at Jacobean episcopal preaching that devotion to the preached word *per se* in the absence of demands for further reform is not a sure sign of puritanism.[30] The combination of criteria in Lake's definition is useful, because it excludes those who drifted uncomplainingly in that vast protestant mainstream so well described by Collinson, where the prevailing current of antipopery effectively engulfed whatever eddies of discontent with the Elizabethan Settlement

[27] Hall, pp. 290, 294; on separatists, pp. 290–2. Both Tyacke ('Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution,' p. 120) and Hall make special reference to presbyterians, recognizing the conviction of Elizabethan presbyterians that godly authorities could impose the classis system on the established church in time; however, presbyterian polity is not a defining characteristic of puritanism for either.

[28] Lake, 'Matthew Hutton,' p. 182, and *Moderate puritans*, p. 3.

[29] Lake, *Moderate puritans, passim*; Margo Todd, '"An Act of Discretion": Evangelical Conformity and the Puritan Dons,' *Albion*, 17 (1986), 581–99.

[30] Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 48–52, focusing on Tobie Matthew.